Supplemental Materials to the Article:

Kostelka, Filip, "Does Democratic Consolidation Lead to a Decline in Voter Turnout? Global Evidence Since 1939", *American Political Science Review*, forthcoming.

Contents

A. Descriptive Statistics and Sources

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Analysis 1 (Models A-C)

Variable Names	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Response Variable					
Voter Turnout	533	75.22	14.01	21.30	98.60
Quantitative Predictors					
Closeness	533	11.78	11.25	0.00	75.20
Decisiveness	533	12.47	9.32	0.00	49.56
ADM	533	15.18	38.23	1.00	400.00
Voting Age	533	18.68	1.25	16.00	25.00
Electorate size (in millions, ln)	533	2.00	1.42	-1.61	6.73
GDP (ln)	533	9.14	0.80	6.08	10.28

Variable Names	Coded as 1	
Qualitative Predictors (Dummy variables, N = 533 in each case)		
	Abs. Freq.	%
Founding Election	80	15.0
Transition Type: Normal Politics	453	85
Transition Type: Replacement	11	2.1
Transition Type: Transplacement	20	3.8
Transition Type: Transformation	30	5.6
Transition Type: Adverse Intervention	4	0.8
Transition Type: Foreign Liberation	6	1.1
Transition Type: Decolonization	9	1.7
Authoritarian Mobilization	23	4.3
(Semi-)Presidential System	196	36.8
Concurrent Elections	74	13.9
Compulsory Voting (=1)	132	24.8

Variable Names	Coded as 1	
	Abs. Freq.	%
Compulsory Voting (=0.2)[1]	9	1.7
Compulsory Voting: Enforced	75	14.1
Decade: 1940s	24	4.5
Decade: 1950s	32	6
Decade: 1960s	37	6.9
Decade: 1970s	67	12.6
Decade: 1980s	77	14.4
Decade: 1990s	107	20.1
Decade: 2000s	97	18.2
Decade: 2010s	92	17.3
Region: Africa	22	4.1
Region: Asia	65	12.2
Region: Europe	270	50.7
Region: Latin America	100	18.8
Region: Oceania	53	9.9
Region: North America	23	4.3

---

[1] This coding refers to the Austrian elections, in which compulsory voting was applied in only some of the federal states until 1994, when it was removed from all of them.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Analysis 2 (Models D-G)

Variable Names	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Response Variable					
Voter Turnout	494	71.82	15.05	21.00	98.60
Quantitative Predictors					
Democratization Bonus	494	7.36	7.45	0.00	24.51
Election Sequence	494	-0.54	0.33	-1.00	0.00
Economic Growth	454	2.04	4.35	-20.69	13.10
Closeness	489	14.72	13.79	0.00	73.80
Decisiveness	490	13.44	9.77	0.00	43.90
ADM	494	20.88	60.01	1.00	450.00
Electorate size (in millions, ln)	493	1.63	1.60	-2.30	5.77
GDP (ln)	464	8.23	0.81	6.08	9.95

Qualitative Predictors (Dummy variables, N = 494 in each case)

Variable Names	Coded as 1	
	Abs. Freq.	%
Third Wave	349	70.6
Post-Communist	121	24.5
Africa	62	12.6
Asia	114	23.1
Europe	181	36.6
Latin America	123	24.9
Oceania	14	2.8

Table 3: Data Sources

Variables	Source
Voter Turnout Closeness Decisiveness Voting Age Electorate size (Semi-)Presidential System Concurrent Elections Voting Age	Nohlen, Dieter, ed. 2005. *Elections in the Americas: South America.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Nohlen, Dieter, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann, eds. 2001. *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: The Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Nohlen, Dieter, Michael Krennerich, and Bernhard Thibaut, eds. 1999. *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Nohlen, Dieter, and Philip Stöver, eds. 2010. *Elections in Europe: A Data Handbook.* Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft. For the most recent elections (late 2000s and early 2010s): www.electionguide.org, www.ipu.org, www.idea.int, http://africanelections.tripod.com, http://psephos.adam-carr.net. These websites were accessed in November 2012 (for elections before until 2011) and in January 2017 (for elections after 2011). Note: Voter turnout rates were systematically cross-validated using www.idea.int. In case of significant disparities (> 1 percentage point) between the handbooks and www.idea.int, the correct turnout rate was determined using country sources (typically materials of local election authorities and ministries of the interior).
Compulsory voting Compulsory voting enforced	The same sources as for voter turnout; also Birch, Sarah. 2009. Full Participation: A Comparative Study of Compulsory Voting. Manchester University Press; The Electoral Commission. 2006. "Compulsory Voting around the World". *Research Report*, www.electoralcommission.org.uk;
ADM	The same sources as for voter turnout; also Bormann, Nils-Christian, and Matt Golder. 2013. "Democratic Electoral Systems around the World, 1946–2011." Electoral Studies 32(2): 360–69.
GDP (ln), Economic Growth	Historical Statistics on the World Economy 1-2008 by Angus Madison, www.ggdc.net/maddison/oriindex.htm, downloaded in January 2012; Total Economy Database by the Conference Board, www.conferenceboard.org/data/-economydatabase, downloaded in January 2014; World Development Indicators, the World Bank, data.worldbank.org, downloaded in January 2016.
Transition Types	See below

B. Transition Types and Mobilized Dictatorships

The classifications are based on a careful consultation of the following sources:

Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century*. University of Oklahoma Press. (in particular Chapter 3*); Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press; Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markowski, and Gabor Toka. 1999. *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (in particular Chapter 1); Polity IV 2016 (country reports); Nohlen, Dieter, ed. 2005. *Elections in the Americas: South America.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Nohlen, Dieter, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann, eds. 2001. *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: The Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Nohlen, Dieter, Michael Krennerich, and Bernhard Thibaut, eds. 1999. *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Nohlen, Dieter, and Philip Stöver, eds. 2010. *Elections in Europe: A Data Handbook.* Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft; Freedom in the World and Nations in Transit reports (www.freedomhouse.org/reports and www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/nations-transit, accessed in January 2013); Country Reports from the Constitution Writing and Conflict Resolution Project (www.princeton.edu/~pcwcr/about-/index.html, accessed in January 2013); the guide to African countries produced by Sciences Po Bordeaux (http://www.etat.sciencespobordeaux.fr/, accessed in January 2013).

In the event of doubt, further country-specific references were consulted. As noted in the article, Roman numerals are used when more than one democratization occurred in the same country.

Replacements
Argentina 1983, Colombia 1958, Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia) 1990, East Germany 1990, Greece 1974, Indonesia 1999, Philippines II 1987, Portugal 1975, Romania 1990, Serbia 2000, Slovakia (Czechoslovakia) 1990.

Transplacements
Albania 1991, Benin 1991, Bolivia 1985, Cambodia 1993, El Salvador 1982, Estonia 1992, Ghana 1996, Honduras 1981, Latvia 1993, Lesotho 2002, Lithuania 1992, Malawi 1994, Mongolia 1990, Mozambique 1994, Nepal 1991, Nicaragua 1990, Poland 1989, Sierra Leone 2002, South Korea 1988, Uruguay 1984, Zambia 1991.

Transformations
Armenia 1999, Brazil I 1945, Brazil II 1986, Bulgaria 1990, Cape Verde 1991, Chile 1989, Croatia 2000, Cyprus 1976, Dominican Republic 1978, Ecuador 1979, Georgia 1992, Guatemala 1985, Guyana 1992, Hungary 1990, Macedonia 1994, Mali 1992, Mexico 1988, Moldova 1994, Nigeria 1999, Pakistan 1988, Paraguay 1989, Peru I 1980, Russia 1993, Slovenia 1992, Spain 1977, Taiwan 1992, Thailand I 1979, Thailand II 1992, Turkey I 1946, Turkey II 1983, Ukraine 1994, Venezuela 1958.

Adverse Interventions
Austria 1945, Italy 1946, Japan 1952, Panama 1994, West Germany 1949.

Foreign Liberations
Belgium 1946, Denmark 1945, France 1945, Netherlands 1946, Norway 1945, Philippines I 1946.

Decolonization
Botswana 1965, East Timor 2001, Fiji 1972, Gambia 1966, India 1951, Israel 1949, Jamaica 1959, Lebanon 1943, Malaysia 1955, Mauritius 1967, Montenegro 2006, Papua New Guinea 1977, Peru II 2001, Solomon Islands 1980, Sri Lanka 1952, Trinidad and Tobago 1966.

List of Mobilized Dictatorships

The following democratizations are coded as 1 on the Authoritarian Mobilization variable:

Albania 1991, Brazil II 1986, Bulgaria 1990, Czech Republic 1990, Denmark 1945, East Germany 1990, East Timor 2001, Honduras 1981, Hungary 1990, Indonesia 1999, Latvia 1993, Macedonia 1994, Moldova 1994, Mongolia 1990, Paraguay 1989, Peru II 2001, Philippines II 1987, Romania 1990, Russia 1993, Slovakia 1990, Slovenia 1992, South Korea 1988, Trinidad and Tobago 1966, Turkey I 1946, Ukraine 1994.

It should be noted that two African countries (Benin, Mali) were excluded, although their Marxist authoritarian regimes declared voter turnout rates higher than 80%. Contrary to communist dictatorships in Europe and Asia, where voter turnout was genuinely high (see Furtak 1990), these two countries had weak or nonexistent mobilizing structures (Diarrah 1990: 74; Allen 1992: 69), and thus they could hardly have achieved the claimed participation levels. This is supported by the fact that, in the founding democratic elections, voter turnout in the two countries was lower than in the non-democratic elections by dozens of percentage points (by 34.3 pp in Benin and 71.9 pp in Mali).

Allen, Chris. 1992. "Goodbye to All That: The Short and Sad Story of Socialism in Benin." *The Journal of Communist Studies* 8 (2): 63–81.
Diarrah, Cheick Oumar. 1990. *Mali: Bilan D'une Gestion Désastreuse*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
Furtak, Robert K., ed. 1990. *Elections in Socialist States*. Englewood Cliff: Prentice-Hall.

C. List of Included Elections

Elections in New Democracies

Albania 1991, 1992, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2005; Argentina 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993; Armenia 1999, 2003, 2007, 2012; Austria 1945, 1949, 1953, 1956, 1959, 1962; Belgium 1946, 1949, 1950, 1954, 1958, 1961; Benin 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011; Bolivia 1985, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2005; Botswana 1965, 1969, 1974, 1979, 1984, 1989; Brazil I 1945, 1947, 1950, 1954, 1958, 1962; Brazil II 1986, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006; Bulgaria 1990, 1991, 1994, 1997, 2001, 2005; Cambodia 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008, 2013; Cape Verde 1991, 1995, 2001, 2006, 2011; Chile 1989, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009; Colombia 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968; Croatia 2000, 2003, 2007, 2015; Cyprus 1976, 1981, 1985, 1991, 1996, 2001; Czech Republic 1990, 1992, 1996, 1998, 2002, 2006; Denmark 1945, 1947, 1950, 1953, 1953, 1957; Dominican Republic 1978, 1982, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1998; East Germany 1990, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2005; East Timor 2001, 2007, 2012; Ecuador 1979, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992; El Salvador 1982, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1997; Estonia 1992, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011; Fiji 1972, 1977, 1977, 1982; France 1945, 1946, 1946, 1951, 1956, 1958; Gambia 1966, 1972, 1977, 1987, 1992; Georgia 1992, 1995, 1999, 2004, 2008; Ghana 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012; Greece 1974, 1977, 1981, 1985, 1989, 1989; Guatemala 1985, 1990, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2003; Guyana 1992, 1997, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2015; Honduras 1981, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2001; Hungary 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010; India 1951, 1957, 1962, 1967, 1971, 1977; Indonesia 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014; Israel 1949, 1951, 1955, 1959, 1961, 1965; Italy 1946, 1948, 1953, 1958, 1963, 1968; Jamaica 1959, 1962, 1967, 1972, 1976, 1980; Japan 1952, 1953, 1955, 1958, 1960, 1963; Latvia 1993, 1995, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010; Lebanon 1943, 1947, 1951, 1953, 1957, 1960; Lesotho 2002, 2007, 2012, 2015; Lithuania 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012; Macedonia 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011; Malawi 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014; Malaysia 1955, 1959, 1964, 1969, 1974, 1978; Mali 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007; Mauritius 1967, 1976, 1982, 1983, 1987, 1991; Mexico 1988, 1991, 1994, 1997, 2000, 2003; Moldova 1994, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2009; Mongolia 1990, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008; Montenegro 2006, 2009, 2012; Mozambique 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014; Nepal 1991, 1994, 1999; Netherlands 1946, 1948, 1952, 1956, 1959, 1963; Nicaragua 1990, 1996, 2001, 2006, Nigeria 1999, 2003, 2007; Norway 1945, 1949, 1953, 1957, 1961, 1965; Pakistan 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997; Panama 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014; Papua New Guinea 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992,

1997; Paraguay 1989, 1991, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008; Peru I 1980, 1985, 1990; Peru II 2001, 2006, 2011; Philippines I 1946, 1949, 1953, 1957, 1961, 1965; Philippines II 1987, 1992, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2004; Poland 1989, 1991, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005; Portugal 1975, 1976, 1979, 1980, 1983, 1985; Romania 1990, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008; Russia 1993, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011; Serbia 2000, 2003, 2007, 2008, 2012, 2014; Sierra Leone 2002, 2007, 2012; Slovakia 1990, 1992, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006; Slovenia 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011; Solomon Islands 1980, 1984, 1989, 1993, 1997; South Korea 1988, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008; Spain 1977, 1979, 1982, 1986, 1989, 1993; Sri Lanka 1952, 1956, 1960, 1960, 1965, 1970; Taiwan 1992, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2008; Thailand I 1979, 1983, 1986, 1988; Thailand II 1992, 1992, 1995, 1996, 2001, 2005; Trinidad and Tobago 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991; Turkey I 1946, 1950, 1954, 1957; Turkey II 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2002; Ukraine 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2007, 2012; Uruguay 1984, 1989, 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009; Venezuela 1958, 1963, 1968, 1973, 1978, 1983; West Germany 1949, 1953, 1957, 1961, 1965, 1969; Zambia 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011.

Elections in Consolidated Democracies

Albania 2013; Argentina 1994, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013; Australia 1943, 1946, 1949, 1951, 1954, 1955, 1958, 1961, 1963, 1966, 1969, 1972, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1980, 1983, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013; Austria 1966, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2013; Belgium 1965, 1968, 1971, 1974, 1977, 1978, 1981, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2010, 2014; Benin 2015; Bolivia 2002, 2009, 2014; Botswana 2009, 2014; Brazil 2010, 2014; Bulgaria 2013, 2014; Canada 1945, 1949, 1953, 1957, 1958, 1962, 1963, 1965, 1968, 1972, 1974, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1988, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015; Chile 2009, 2013; Colombia 1978, 1982, 1986, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014; Costa Rica 1953, 1958, 1962, 1966, 1970, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014; Cyprus 2006, 2011; Czech Republic 2010, 2013; Denmark 1966, 1968, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2011, 2015; Dominican Republic 2002, 2006, 2010; Ecuador 2002, 2006; El Salvador 2012, 2015; Estonia 2015; Finland 1966, 1970, 1972, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015; France 1973, 1978, 1981, 1986, 1988, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012; Georgia 2012; Germany 2013; Greece 1996, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2009, 2012, 2012, 2015, 2015; Guatemala 2007, 2011, 2015; Honduras 2005, 2013; Hungary 2014; India 1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014; Ireland 1944, 1948, 1951, 1954, 1957, 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973, 1977, 1981, 1982, 1982, 1987, 1989, 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2011; Israel 1969, 1973, 1977, 1981, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, 1999, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2013, 2015; Italy 1972, 1976, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1994, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2013; Jamaica 1989, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2011; Japan 1972, 1976, 1979, 1983,

1986, 1990, 1993, 1996, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2009, 2012, 2014; Latvia 2014; Macedonia 2014; Malaysia 2013; Mauritius 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2014; Mexico 2009, 2012, 2015; Moldova 2014; Mongolia 2012; Namibia 2014; Netherlands 1967, 1971, 1972, 1977, 1981, 1982, 1986, 1989, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2010; New Zealand 1943, 1946, 1949, 1951, 1954, 1957, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1969, 1972, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2014; Norway 1969, 1973, 1977, 1981, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013; Paraguay 2013; Philippines 2010, 2013; Poland 2011, 2015; Portugal 1999, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2011, 2015; Romania 2012; Slovakia 2010, 2012; Slovenia 2014; South Korea 2012; Spain 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2015; Sri Lanka 2015; Sweden 1944, 1948, 1952, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1964, 1968, 1970, 1973, 1976, 1979, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014; Switzerland 1943, 1947, 1951, 1955, 1959, 1963, 1967, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015; Taiwan 2012; Trinidad and Tobago 1995, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007, 2010, 2015; Turkey 2011; UK 1945, 1950, 1951, 1955, 1959, 1964, 1966, 1970, 1974, 1974, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010, 2015; Uruguay 2009, 2014; Venezuela 1988, 1993, 1998, 2000; West Germany 1972, 1976, 1980, 1983, 1987, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2005, 2009.

D. Robustness Checks

I ran multiple robustness checks for Analyses 1 and 2, all of which yield the same substantive findings as the results reported in the main body of the manuscript. These robustness checks include alternative estimation techniques and, in the case of Analysis 2, separate models for elections meeting different democratic standards (Polity scores equal or superior to 2, 4 and 6) for countries with below-average or above-average levels of economic development at the start of the democratic transition. In a further extension of Analysis 2, I also include separate models for each wave of democratization and for countries meeting different democratic standards. Models G 4.1 and 4.2 test additional regional dummies.

Table 4: Robustness Checks of Model C (Analysis 1)

	C 1.1	C 1.2	C 1.3	C 1.4
Replacement (H1)	10.92 (5.12)*	11.10 (0.98)***	10.79 (5.24)*	9.45 (3.13)**
Transplacement (H1)	6.69 (5.11)	6.93 (1.40)***	6.65 (5.23)	6.69 (3.30)*
Transformation (H1)	-3.01 (4.14)	-3.03 (1.04)**	-3.11 (4.20)	-3.58 (3.02)
Adverse Intervention (H1)	0.93 (7.83)	5.54 (1.30)***	1.08 (8.10)	6.42 (2.38)**
Foreign Liberation (H1)	-1.57 (10.30)	4.86 (1.71)**	-1.29 (10.68)	7.09 (4.69)
Decolonization (H1)	-8.09 (7.80)	-2.52 (2.18)	-7.82 (8.03)	-0.03 (4.60)
Authoritarian Mobilization (H2)	12.70 (3.48)***	11.27 (0.81)***	12.63 (3.61)***	10.95 (3.11)***
Closeness	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.11 (0.03)**	-0.02 (0.06)
Decisiveness	-0.18 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.05)**	-0.14 (0.05)**	-0.23 (0.14)
(Semi-)Presidential System	-7.54 (2.63)**	-5.97 (0.87)***	-0.95 (3.94)	-6.04 (2.57)*
Concurrent Elections	8.87 (3.16)**	6.70 (1.56)***	5.33 (2.24)*	10.25 (3.27)**
Compulsory	9.75 (3.43)**	10.22 (1.96)***	8.32 (2.05)***	8.05 (3.32)*
Compulsory Enforced	9.48 (3.85)*	8.80 (2.25)***	6.55 (2.32)**	9.15 (2.80)**
ADM	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.18 (0.11)	0.01 (0.02)
Voting Age	-1.49 (1.25)	-0.82 (0.41)*	-1.17 (0.37)**	-1.61 (0.66)*
Electorate Size (ln)	-2.14 (0.77)**	-1.98 (0.18)***	-3.87 (1.50)**	-1.48 (0.74)*
GDP (ln)	3.30 (1.79)+	3.54 (0.77)***	6.07 (1.90)**	4.13 (1.57)**
Decade Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Continent Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	74.78 (27.53)**	61.22 (7.44)***	74.90 (27.90)**	71.11 (20.27)***
Observations	145	533	533	533
R^2	0.55	0.86	0.57	0.58

Note: $^+ p < 0.10$, $^* p < 0.05$, $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^{***} p < 0.001$. Model C 1.1: Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression of averaged data. Model C 1.2: Prais-Winsten regression with panel-corrected standard errors and first-order correlation (ar 1). Model C 1.3: Hybrid generalized least squares (GLS) model with time-variant predictors entered as panel-specific means ($\bar{x}_j$) and deviations from these means ($x_{ij} - \bar{x}_j$).[2] Only the coefficients of the deviations (i.e. the "within" effects) are reported. Model C 1.4: Pooled OLS regression with clustered standard errors.

---

[2] See Allison, Paul David. 2009. *Fixed Effects Regression Models.* Los Angeles: SAGE; and Bell, Andrew, and Kelvyn Jones. 2015. "Explaining Fixed Effects: Random Effects Modeling of Time-Series Cross-Sectional and Panel Data." *Political Science Research and Methods* 3(1): 133–53.

Table 5: Model G: Alternative Technical Specification

	G 1.1 (PSCE, Fixed Effects, Lagged DV)	G 1.2 (PSCE, Fixed Effects, AR1)	G 1.3 (Random Effects, Clustered Standard Errors)
Democratization Bonus * Election Sequence (H1, H2)	-0.56 (0.17)***	-0.68 (0.11)***	-0.67 (0.22)**
Election Sequence (H3)	3.88 (3.16)	6.01 (2.52)*	0.24 (5.56)
Economic Growth (H4)	-0.20 (0.13)	-0.24 (0.09)**	-0.20 (0.09)*
Third Wave * Election Sequence	-5.40 (2.42)*	-6.02 (1.46)***	-3.92 (5.39)
Post-Communist * Election Sequence	-6.69 (2.63)*	-7.82 (1.48)***	-5.70 (4.26)
Closeness	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.04)$^{+}$	-0.05 (0.05)
Decisiveness	-0.22 (0.07)**	-0.31 (0.06)***	-0.25 (0.07)***
(Semi-)Presidential System			-3.61 (1.32)**
Concurrent Elections			6.50 (2.26)**
Compulsory			10.24 (3.48)**
Compulsory Enforced			6.33 (2.86)*
ADM	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Voting Age			-1.85 (0.50)***
Electorate Size (ln)	0.37 (2.61)	-1.68 (2.54)	-1.69 (0.80)*
GDP (ln)	-1.06 (1.50)	-3.38 (1.71)*	0.69 (1.56)
Lagged Turnout	0.02 (0.15)		
Democratization Bonus			0.20 (0.21)
Third Wave			-16.29 (3.88)***
Post-Communist			-13.46 (4.00)***
Decade Dummies	No	No	Yes
Continent Dummies	No	No	Yes
Constant	104.60 (22.24)***	128.28 (18.29)***	122.83 (16.87)***
Observations	371	377	449
R^2	0.85	0.79	0.56

Note: $^{+} p < 0.10$, $^{*} p < 0.05$, $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^{***} p < 0.001$. Model F 1.1: Fixed effects, panel-corrected standard errors, and lagged dependent variable. Model F 1.2: Fixed effects, panel-corrected standard errors and first-order correlation (ar 1). Model F 1.3: Random effects, clustered standard errors.

Table 6: Model G: Different Democratic Standards

	G 2.1 (Polity >= 2)	G 2.2 (Polity >= 4)	G 2.3 (Polity >= 6)
Democratization Bonus * Election Sequence (H1, H2)	-0.76 (0.24)**	-0.69 (0.24)**	-0.56 (0.25)*
Election Sequence (H3)	5.71 (3.77)	4.24 (3.88)	3.65 (4.01)
Economic Growth (H4)	-0.29 (0.09)**	-0.31 (0.10)**	-0.20 (0.11)$^{+}$
Third Wave * Election Sequence	-4.00 (3.60)	-6.13 (3.59)$^{+}$	-6.39 (3.69)$^{+}$
Post-Communist * Election Sequence	-6.69 (3.90)$^{+}$	-5.69 (4.07)	-7.50 (3.81)$^{+}$
Closeness	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.07)
Decisiveness	-0.27 (0.07)***	-0.25 (0.08)**	-0.22 (0.09)*
ADM	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Electorate Size (ln)	-1.80 (2.53)	-1.03 (2.60)	-0.11 (2.34)
GDP (ln)	-3.49 (2.93)	-1.48 (2.99)	-0.42 (2.88)
Country Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	105.66 (25.52)***	86.75 (26.29)**	76.08 (25.54)**
Observations	432	409	371
R^2	0.83	0.84	0.87

Note: $^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Clustered standard errors in parentheses.

Table 7: Model G: Different Levels of Economic Development

	G 3.1 Panels where GDP < 3169.7 at Election 1	G 3.2 Panels where GDP > 3169.7 at Election 1	G 3.3 Panels where GDP < 5640.4 at Election 1
Democratization Bonus * Election Sequence (H1, H2)	-1.04 (0.55)$^+$	-0.51 (0.28)$^+$	-0.88 (0.30)**
Election Sequence (H3)	9.26 (5.05)$^+$	1.53 (4.40)	7.35 (4.22)$^+$
Economic Growth (H4)	-0.24 (0.16)	-0.16 (0.11)	-0.24 (0.11)*
Third Wave * Election Sequence	-5.08 (5.91)	-4.10 (3.61)	-3.61 (3.91)
Post-Communist * Election Sequence	-10.64 (7.73)	-9.20 (4.73)$^+$	-12.62 (5.05)*
Closeness	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.06)
Decisiveness	-0.17 (0.11)	-0.37 (0.08)***	-0.21 (0.08)**
ADM	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Electorate Size (ln)	-2.80 (4.56)	0.78 (2.27)	-4.08 (3.97)
GDP (ln)	-5.24 (3.63)	1.82 (5.12)	-2.09 (3.24)
Country Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	116.25 (30.03)***	57.11 (46.90)	97.38 (27.98)***
Observations	211	242	276
R^2	0.81	0.85	0.82

Note: $^+$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Clustered standard errors in parentheses. GDP in 1990 Geary–Khamis dollars. \$3169.7 = median, \$5640.4 = 75th percentile.

Table 8: Model G: Additional Regional Dummies

	F 4.1 Latin America	F 4.2 Africa	F 4.3 Asia
Democratization Bonus* Election Sequence (H1, H2)	-0.71 (0.23)**	-0.73 (0.23)**	-0.75 (0.23)**
Election Sequence (H3)	5.07 (3.35)	5.53 (3.35)	7.37 (3.35)*
Economic Growth (H4)	-0.24 (0.09)*	-0.24 (0.09)*	-0.24 (0.09)*
Third Wave* Election Sequence (H5)	-5.69 (3.67)	-5.27 (3.62)	-4.91 (3.60)
Post-Communist * Election Sequence	-7.14 (4.18)+	-7.94 (4.08)+	-9.34 (3.77)*
Latin America * Election Sequence	1.50 (3.94)	0.60 (4.09)	-1.46 (4.18)
Africa * Election Sequence		-3.90 (4.96)	-5.92 (4.80)
Asia * Election Sequence			-3.47 (3.14)
Decisiveness	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
Closeness	-0.28 (0.07)***	-0.28 (0.07)***	-0.28 (0.07)***
Decisiveness * Closeness	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Electorate Size (ln)	-2.21 (2.56)	-1.84 (2.80)	-1.51 (2.72)
Country Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	89.99 (23.63)***	87.59 (24.03)***	89.42 (24.21)***
Observations	449	449	449
R^2	0.82	0.82	0.83

Note: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Clustered standard errors in parentheses.

Table 9: Model G: Democratization Waves

	G 5.1 Pre-1974 Democracies	G 5.2 Post-1974 Democracies
Democratization Bonus* Election Sequence (H1, H2)	-0.92 (0.37)[*]	-0.68 (0.23)[**]
Election Sequence (H3)	6.78 (4.51)	0.03 (3.00)
Economic Growth (H4)	-0.24 (0.19)	-0.23 (0.10)[*]
Third Wave* Election Sequence (H5)	-	-
Post-Communist * Election Sequence	-	-7.53 (3.93)[+]
Closeness	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.06)
Decisiveness	0.00 (0.12)	-0.35 (0.08)[***]
ADM	0.01 (0.11)	0.00 (0.01)
Electorate Size (ln)	-5.48 (3.83)	-0.64 (2.35)
GDP (ln)	-0.02 (3.92)	-3.92 (4.08)
Country Dummies	Yes	Yes
Constant	89.87 (34.71)[*]	104.22 (33.99)[**]
Observations	126	323
R^2	0.85	0.80

Note: $^+ p < 0.10$, $^* p < 0.05$, $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^{***} p < 0.001$. Standard errors in parentheses.[3]

---

[3] Given the small number of observations, and since Woolridge's test does not indicate the presence of serial correlation (p = 0.48), I report conventional standard errors for pre-1974 democracies. For post-1974 democracies, I display the more conservative clustered standard errors, as I do in all other models.